

THE

NEW REPUBLIC.

VOL. 1,

CLEVELAND, APRIL 5, 1862.

NO. 1.

Government.

"For forms of Government let fools contest,
That which is best administered is best."

Such was the opinion of a great poet; and it was Jefferson who said "that people are best governed who are governed least." So, too, is it our opinion that all the hue and cry about the intricacies and mysteries of government and diplomacy, are a Machiavellian sham, concocted and kept up to secure posts, honors, and profits of government and diplomacy to a stereotyped, red-tape class. This is a character which has been given to government by the lawyers and politicians, who have heretofore shaped and directed it. Honest government, in truth, is, according to Republican or Democratic principles, a very simple affair. It is but justly considering the wants and interests, internal and external, of a people, in so far as government should be concerned, and then making and administering laws, in the simplest manner possible, to answer those wants and interests. As to diplomacy, that which goes beyond good common sense, ought to be kicked out of a Republican system. The statesman who counsels and secures the greatest good of the greatest number, is the best statesman, though he never saw a university or law-office.

While Justinian was pompously issuing his *pan-dects*, and playing the pedant law-maker, the humbly-born Belisarius—the noblest specimen of a warrior, negotiator, and governor, that we remember in all history—and the so-considered degraded eunuch Nares, recovered or gave to Byzantium the Roman Empire; conquered from Goth and Vandal, and far more than conquered by arms, in the wise reconstruction of its government—a re-construction, of which the Imperial law-giver could not practically conceive, though his unpretending lieutenants could conceive and execute it. And so it has been that empires have been saved, recovered and founded not by theoretical warriors or statesmen nor by routinists, but by *men*, developed by emergency—men

of humble origin, so-called, chiefly; the Cromwells, Napoleons, Tells, Hofers, Bolivars, and even Washington, for he had no leather patent of nobility, no diplomas from universities or governmental bureaus.

But the consummate folly of the doctrine that only a specially educated, lawyer class, can do the ruling and diplomacy, is most palpable in our country where many of our best educated men, and most shining lights, have been self-taught—where all the people read and think, and have opinions—and where, standing outside of the mal-administering circle of governors, men of practical sense and information soonest see what is defective in our government, and would, if so entrusted, best correct the defects. It is a broad libel on the American people, whose Franklins and Shermans spring unaided from the ranks, to suppose all their administrative talents bound up in so many lawyers' and politicians' skins. We repel the idea as opposed to the history, institutions, and genius of our country.

God forbid that we should ever imbibe the doctrine, that the Talleyrands, Metternichs, Woolseys, and Richelieus—though sagacious and accomplished—are better fitted to rule us and preserve our government in its simplicity, than humbler men of honest natures, practical good sense, and patriotic impulses. A man *may* be specially educated into a good statesman, but no nation ever yet existed that did not run down under a system of universal routine in office. To finally establish such a system in our country, it is only necessary to keep up this deference to politicians—this impression that lawyers are the best and only safe makers and executors of law. Certain it is that they have, as law-makers, statesmen, or diplomats, kept the world in a state of armed war or civil litigation. They thrive most when men and nations wrangle most, and it is but natural that they should struggle to keep up the order of things under which they have managed to rule and plunder mankind.—*New York Ledger.*

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NEW REPUBLIC,
CLEVELAND, Ohio.

OUR OBJECT.

The abundance of cant and hypocrisy in the shape of professions of a desire for the elevation of human character, and the amelioration of human condition, on the principle that there is no counterfeit without a genuine, is proof that there is in the heart of man, an earnest desire for improvement, and a deep interest in whatever effects the welfare of the race. On account of the abundance of words, reformwise, and the great scarcity of reformatory deeds, multitudes are disheartened, and more or less inclined to let reform take care of itself. But "blessed are they who endure unto the end." With all the evidence before us, the man must be bilious or dyspeptic who can doubt the principle and the fact of Human Progress. The whole history of the world is a record of agitation, hard fought battles, hours of deepest darkness, discouragements, falling back of the supposed champions of truth and right, apparent failures of reformatory enterprises and apparent triumphs of the hosts of Despotism in Church and State; and yet who is in such a nightmare as not to see and by the sight, be made confident, and imbued with a faith that cannot be shaken, that the march of the Race has been steadily and surely onward.

So it is; and through the dark clouds that hover threateningly over us, apparently shutting out all certainty in regard to the future, there "gleams the radiance of the Coming Day." The agitations that are even now rocking the Nation to its very centre, and yet, compared with the terrific convulsions that ere long are to dash to pieces the institutions and governments of the Earth, are as the gentle tremulous motion, to the tornado's and earthquake's wrath, are but the natural and necessary result of the combined influence of reformatory and conservative effort in the past, and are but the labor-pains of Nature in the birth of higher and better conditions for Humanity. Let no one for a moment forget, that not an effort, however imperfect or fragmentary, or seemingly abandoned without accomplishing its desired end, but has had a use that could not be spared, in contributing to the fulfillment of the grand designs of Destiny. And dyspeptic cavilers and fault-finders at the cost of this or that so-called "failure," will yet all look back and smile contemptuously on their own abandon-

ed and narrow-contracted views, and see that nothing has yet failed to pay its cost a thousand fold. Aye, figures loose their significance, in contemplating the plans and designs of the Infinite, with whom ALL things are indispensable.

And never let Reformers arrogate to themselves more than their share of praise, for exerting the influences to bring about a better state of things. Radicalism and Conservatism have an equal importance and value. The UNIVERSE is governed by OPPOSITE FORCES. As well discuss the relative importance of centrifugal and centripetal, as to institute such a comparison between Conservatism and Radicalism. And how narrow is that view that makes any ONE reform or idea of overshadowing importance. In the absolute, no worker can over-estimate the importance of his work. In the language of the Poet-Philosopher, Emerson, every work is "dear to God, and cannot be spared." Let no worker lag or become weary at his task. The salvation of the world does depend upon his efforts. Let this thought be to him an INFINITE INSPIRATION, and though weary of limb, and feet bleeding, let his soul overflow with joyousness that what he will do will render gloriously complete, what Gods, angels and heroes combined, would fail in without him. But let him not be careless of the risk he runs of having to look back with mortification, in the future, on his depreciation of his BROTHER'S work. Your mission is no less important than you think, and see you do not fail to fulfill it, but his is no less important than yours.

And is there a Conservative reading this article? Do you pride yourself on having kept clear of the "fanatical," "hyssaluten" notions of the day? When, will you tell me, did the Institutions of this Earth attain to perfection? Reform has been the true thing in the past; and no class of men of the past do you rank so high as the very men who were the Agitators and Reformers of their day. You worship Jesus Christ, you speak highly of Martin Luther, and evince, word-wise, at least, a great liking for the doctrines of Thomas Jefferson. How long since the world was reformed enough? But you will admit there are imperfections enough in institutions, and more and much worse in the matter of administration; but these "fanatics" are crazy, and run everything to extremes. Were we not arguing the opposite side of the question, we might admit, unconditionally and unhesitatingly, all you claim; for the sake of the argument we will. What of it. Do not extremes always beget each other? It is a law of Nature, alike exemplified in the physical, moral, political and social world. What other possible result could have flowed from the maintenance of Slavery in the Nation, with all its horrors, staring us in the face, and the moral, political and financial energies and ability of the Nation pledged and taxed to the utmost for its support, than just such manifestations of an outraged sense of justice, exhibited, in some instances, perhaps, in illegitimate

and unjustifiable ways? Equilibrium is the law; and when you have one extreme you can but have the other; and fanaticism is always the outgrowth and product of a formal, lifeless conservatism. Thank yourselves then, ye Conservatives, who have gone to your prayers and your counting rooms, and left the Slave in his chains and his misery, for whatever result. A little of the magnetism of human charity administered by you, would have soothed the raging fever, and calmed the bounding pulse of these "hot-heads," and a little of the oil of human kindness, poured out by you, Good Samaritan like, into the gaping and bleeding wounds of Humanity, would have cured such as were maddened by the horror of the sight. You have the lesson, may you profit by it. Human Nature is the same. Do not dare ever again to disregard the plain demands of justice and mercy, interest and expediency as well, for fear of the certain results. The present disorder and disruption is directly traceable, no doubt, to the Anti-Slavery agitation, but that agitation had its underlying cause; and while events, by the inevitable law of things, may all contribute to the best final results, do not tamper with Fate;—do not "sin that grace may abound."

Our mission and our word, then, are alike to the Conservative and the Radical. We see that the Radical is neither bereft of reason, or the Conservative void of humanity. They must strike hands, and between them, settle the problem of our destiny. Especially would we confer with such as are devoted to humanity's and their country's good; not that this number is limited, and sure that these are not found exclusively in any party, clique or class. We confess that our sympathies have ever been with Reform. And while we have not especially belonged to any class, and while, as a rule, we have not been able to pronounce the "Shibboleth" that would entitle us to the highest standing and confidence, yet each class has been recognized as engaged in a work not to be overrated in importance, and deserving the heartiest endorsement, and the deepest sympathies, and most energetic labors of all true lovers of their kind. We agree with you, then, brother Radical. We endorse all you claim, but more. You are to be criticised not for what you have done, but for what you have left undone. You are not in fault for the truths you have discovered and urged, but so far as you have seemed to think that all others were wrong, and their work of little account. There is no salvation for the world but in FRATERNITY and CO-OPERATION. You may harp upon your one idea till Gabriel's trump drowns your voice, as an advocate of one idea, you will never succeed. Not that the work you have done is to be undervalued or spoken lightly of. You have done an important work, and done it faithfully and well. Fragmentary labors have been in the "Order of Providence." But the word now is to the lovers of truth and right everywhere, to strike hands for the final consummation. With all deference, the time has

come, when Reformers, from long having had their hearts and heads expanded by the contemplation of humanitarian ideas and rational thought, are prepared to COME TOGETHER, each bringing his word and his thought, combining them to make up a grand Humanitarian Creed, and striking hands for the fulfillment of all rational conceptions, and the accomplishment of all just and generous deeds. And in this grand Conference, this glorious Church, the Conservative shall have an equal voice and vote with the Radical, and his motives be no longer impugned, and the importance of his position no longer questioned.

Reformers have been all-too-much isolated, knowing too little of each other, and appreciating too little each other's work. One has been pulling this way and another that; each seeming to feel that everything depended upon the acceptance and application of his idea. Each has prepared the way for an acceptance of a rational view of his idea, but single handed and alone, and with the help of all that can ever be brought to an exclusive consideration of, and interest in the one idea, can never effect the consummation so devoutly labored and prayed for. They are all right and all wrong. No one has the truth—they all have it. They will never succeed alone—they will succeed together.

Our object then is to furnish a medium through which ALL, both rational Conservatives and earnest Radicals, and Reformers of all classes, may communicate their thought. And while it will be necessary that an article should be written with reasonable ability, and in a chaste, manly style, no sentiments will be rejected simply because they do not accord with the ideas presented in the Editorial columns. If there are any who hold that freedom of speech is a rhetorical flourish, that there are doctrines seriously entertained, so monstrous that nothing can or should be said in their favor, that there are persons or classes so base, that they have no rights, and cannot be misrepresented or abused, we do not invite them to go in our boat; but all who believe that men may honestly differ, that all truth has not yet been discovered by anybody, and that all have some rights, some truth, some sense and something to do in the world, and who desire to promote justice, and freedom, and fraternity and good-will among men, we invite to co-operate with us in our work, but not to the neglect of their own. There is "room enough for all," and we best help ourselves when we help each other.

Change of Form.

The NEW REPUBLIC appears in a different form from what we first proposed. The amount of matter will be somewhat less (and more select), but the octavo form requires more labor and a better quality of paper. It is more convenient for preservation, and will in this respect meet the expressed wish of many. The amount of matter contained in the NEW REPUBLIC will be equal to a monthly of 96 ordinary pages. Enough for the price, certainly.

Our Position.

The name—**NEW REPUBLIC**, may strike some minds as revolutionary. We do not so consider it, in any objectionable sense. Revolutions form an important part of the World's history; and many of them, and all of them, perhaps, in some way, and in some sense, have subserved Humanity's good. So far as our own labors are concerned, there is but one kind of revolution in which, with our present views and tastes, we can engage. And there are two important characteristics, any such revolution must possess; it must be moral and gradual. This is conservative ground, but it is for the present, ours to occupy. And it does not imply a necessary condemnation of prompt physical agencies, under certain circumstances, for throwing off the yoke of Oppression. Nonresistance is not a part of our creed; the soldier has his sphere of duty, and the revolutionary warrior may be a human benefactor.

The aim of The **NEW REPUBLIC** will be to illustrate and combine energetic radicalism and wise conservatism. That there is an important problem for this Nation to solve, in relation to the adjustment of the present complicated affairs, will not be denied. What is to be done with the Slave States?—is the great question before the country. The ostensible aim of the Government, (and properly enough, for it) is to maintain, or rather reinstate the Union on its old basis. What proportion of the people consider that possible or desirable, we cannot, perhaps, accurately judge. We are frank to confess that we do not believe the present war would pay, provided it left things as they were previous to its commencement. What guarantee, in that case, would the Nation have, that the same scene might not be enacted over again?

What is the present Republic—the present (or rather the past) Union? A Union of Free and Slave States. We see what has come of such a Union. Are we prepared to try the same experiment over again? I think not. That there is a large class in favor of reinstating the old Union, is not to be denied. That, by the time the rebels are thoroughly subdued, they will be in a hopeless minority, is probable. What then will be done with the Slave States? Will it be to the general taste to have the Yancys, and Rhettss, and Masons, and Slidells, and Toombs, and Pryors, and Benjamins, (that is, such of them as are saved from the halter, for senators and representatives) back into the United States Congress? Will the Fugitive Slave Law be obeyed with the same "alacrity" as heretofore? Perhaps it is calculated that our "brethren of the South" will be somewhat improved in their manners and morals, by the time they are ready to come back to Washington. It may be. Is it claimed that before this takes place, Slavery will be abolished? It may possibly be pretty effectually broken up; but its legal abolition is quite another thing. Is it claimed that the

Government can and will abolish Slavery? The Government may liberate Slaves, just so many of them, if it can, as stand in the way of the suppression of the rebellion. But it can only treat Slaves as rebel property, it has nothing to do with them as human beings; or all the popular interpretations of the Constitution are at fault. No matter how many Slaves are running at large at the close of the war, Slavery, as a legal and Constitutional institution remains the same as before. And the unhung rebels may claim seats (as they may also set us to hunting fugitives again) on the basis of Slave representation.

But it has been proposed to turn the Slave States into territories, and then admit them only as free States. This would be Yankee-like, and a very happy idea, if it were not for the Constitution. So long as the Constitution is recognized as the law of the Land, so long it must be regarded, of course. If it does not answer the demands of the present emergency, let the fact be looked squarely and honestly in the face. The suppression of the rebellion will find the Slave States still in the Union, justly claiming all the rights of equal States, and any Congressional action to the contrary would be null and void. The Government has power to put down the rebellion, and to punish all concerned in it, but it has no power to abolish States; or to deprive them of rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution.

Turn the matter over as you will, one of two things still remains to be done. Either to reinstate the Union on the old basis, Slavery and all, or to so reconstruct the Government as that the new state of things, not provided for in the organization of the Government, may be met. The unquestionable fact is that the perpetuity of the Union, and the eternal equality of the States, were the only thing calculated on in the formation of the Union. If, after all the experiences we have had with Slavery, to say nothing of the still more serious ones that we may have, a state of things never dreamed of by our Fathers who entailed the connection upon us, we have the courage and ability to grapple with the condition of things and provide for it, well and good; if not, so be it.

As to what changes should be made, and what steps should be taken to accomplish the greatest good, with the least danger and cost, must be left to the calm and dispassionate, though earnest discussion of the future. That various and important principles and interests, aside from the question of Slavery, will be involved, is but reasonable to conclude. The mission of this Journal will be to discuss all of those questions and principles, and so far as its influence can go, to prepare the public mind for such wise and studied action, as the rights and best good of all may seem to demand.

So far as the war, and the acting Administration are concerned, we recognize the necessity of the one, and to the extent of our ability, shall sustain the other. While we may not condemn, in severe terms, at least, those journals who criticise the Ad-

ministration, striving to cultivate a true fraternity of feeling among a class now so especially the conservators of the public weal, this criticism will not be a part of our work. However much it may possibly be needed, it will be faithfully performed without our help. We shall not "carry coals to Newcastle." So far as we may refer to extravagance and abuses, it will not be to throw obstacles in the way of an Administration already overwhelmed with difficulties, but to call attention to the faults of the system of procedure, which it will be for the People in the future to correct.

Government.

We call especial attention to the Article on our first page from the New York Ledger. The Ledger is good authority. The Ledger has given expression in this article, to some very important truth, and some very good sense. People love to be humbuged. There is no greater humbug than a complicated and expensive government. And the People have been very greatly gratified; for they have almost always had such governments. But the People are liable to change. We predict that within a few years, at most, they will try a simple and economical government. It will be a hard time then for office-holders, no doubt; that is that class who count on fattening at the public crib, (and there are several of that class) and their ranks, now so crowded, will be amazingly thin; but the office-holders have had their day, and soon the People—the laboring, wealth-producing People, are going to have theirs. Like the boy who could not go to bed without being whipped, people will hardly know how to get along, at first, without paying almost ruinous taxes; but people will get used to anything, and it will take but a little time for them to see that it is the easiest and most natural thing in the world, to live without paying taxes. You are incredulous now, of course you are; that is just what I have been saying.

I spoke of office-holders. Their name is Legion. But all but the veriest few are a nuisance, though we cherish the highest possible regard for them, personally. And these few should be men who are not ambitious for applause or wealth, but who have a fitness and a love for their work, for its own sake. And there should be a test of the patriotism and self-sacrificing disposition of such as are proposed for office. We hear a great deal about disinterestedness, from office-seekers. Let their disinterestedness, and their love for their country and the "dear people" be put to the test. Let them serve for just such a salary as the laborer can command; that is provided they work as hard. Business enterprise is good in its place; but the man who is over-eager to make money, is not a fit man to be in office. Our whole system and practice in this matter must be changed. The experience the country is now going through, the finale of which has not yet quite

arrived, will be admirably calculated to prepare the minds and tastes of people for the proposed change.

As for taxes, we are now in a war, a portion of the expenses of which, will have to be met by taxation, but war, with us, is the exception; while burdensome taxes are the rule. And but for corruption in government, engendered in a great measure by the facilities for thieving and plunder, there would have been no war.

A simple and economical Government, then, say we. "That government is best that governs least," said Jefferson. So said Martin Van Buren. So says the New York Ledger. So say we. And Jefferson, Martin Van Buren, the New York Ledger, and we, are right.

National Morality.

The reports of and about the results of the labor of the Investigating Committee in Congress, and the speeches of Mr. Dawes and Mr. Van Wyck, will hardly fail to show the most sanguine man that our patriotism has not entirely purged the nation of the deepest selfishness and the most threatening corruption. Party hacks, whether orators or newspapers, will of course turn the facts to party account,

They will endeavor to make it appear that the corruption in the management of contracts belongs peculiarly to the administration of the party that is in power. And the endeavor will be partially successful when it is shown that all those who have profited by the corruption belong to that party—
but not before.

These revelations do not indicate a partisan but a national evil. The difficulty did not begin with the war, but the war made it conspicuous by so greatly increasing opportunity. The close observer of our national life for the last twenty years must have asked himself constantly the question whether our mental and moral education kept counteracting pace with the inevitable demoralization of great prosperity. A commercial nation is always in danger of losing its liberties, because it is willing to sell them for peace and high profits. Virtue is in the old story and in universal experience the companion of poverty; and the saints come out of the cottages, not the palaces.

The most dangerous symptom in our condition now, as for many years past, is the want of a high moral tone. For the moment a nation which is ruled by its own will loses faith in principles it is precisely in the condition of a man who does the same thing. The Rule of Three and the law of gravity are whimsical compared with the spiritual laws.

Consequently, whenever that nation, whether from ignorance of their value arising from long familiarity, or from that sudden spiritual stupidity which springs from incessant devotion to personal advantage, actually disbelieves in fundamental laws; and, for the ostensible reason that men and parties are equally knavish, but from real reason that they exclusively regard their immediate individual interest, connives at injustice in the laws and at moral sophistication, that nation is as certainly ruined as a liar and a swindler who is at the same time a coward.—*Harper's Weekly*.

Are we Bound to Do Wrong?

It is an admitted axiom that a promise to do wrong is not binding. That all men have a right, an inalienable right, to liberty, is also universally admitted by the American people. If men have a right to liberty, it is wrong and only wrong to deprive them of liberty. This is all axiomatic, and Slavery, or the depriving men of their liberty, is wrong. If Slavery is wrong, all who uphold it, and seek to thrust men into it are wrong. This no one would deny, except that we have promised to do it. But what becomes of the axiom, that to promise to do wrong is not binding? It happens, however, in this case, that we have not ourselves promised, but somebody else has promised for us! If the great stress that is laid upon our "sacred obligation" to surrender fugitive slaves, does not involve a beautiful confusion of logic, it would be difficult to tell what would. To make a promise and violate it, no doubt involves guilt, but the guilt consists in **MAKING** the promise to do a mean action, and not in violating it. That man would cut a pretty figure in the moral world, who should claim that he was under "solemn obligation" to steal horses and rob hen-roosts, because somebody, without his knowledge or consent, had agreed that he should do it! No less ridiculous do those appear who protest that we are under obligation to surrender fugitive slaves, simply because the framers of the Constitution, or the enactors of the Fugitive Slave Law, have so decreed. Those of us who have had the benefit of a Sabbath School education, (it is to be feared that many editors have not) will remember that Herod, the King, was condemned for **FULFILLING** his promise to the young lady who pleased him in dancing, when she asked of him an inhuman deed. Alas, that so few should have had the benefit of these teachings, or that so many should have forgotten them.

But there would be no trouble in disposing of this question, if it did not seem to be for the **INTEREST** of the North to surrender fugitives, the "stability of the Union," depending, as it is argued, upon it. If there is, in this Universe, a sight, at the same time more ludicrous and disgusting than another, it is the sight that has been presented in this country, of four millions of mostly able-bodied men, understanding all the arts of war, boasting ability to cope with the most powerful nations of the world, and perhaps justly regarding themselves behind none in intelligence, art, science, or ability for self-defense, yet whiningly protesting that their safety depends upon their combining to keep enslaved a weak and defenseless population of ignorant and degraded men, women and children! Who does not feel proud of his country when contemplating the picture?

But the business of slave-catching has of late been getting dull. In some quarters, at least, it is not thought to pay expenses; and owing to peculiar circumstances seems almost likely to be given up al-

together. How is it with those who propose that the Union shall be reinstated on its old basis? Do they propose that it shall be revived into its old activity, and prosecuted with the old vigor? We will wait and see.

The Evil and the Cure.

Corruption in our Government is one of the great evils, of the character of which, there is perhaps no difference of opinion. How the evil is to be remedied, is quite another question. The article we copy from Harper, makes the want of a "high moral tone," the cause of the evil; and of course would recommend as a cure for the evil, an elevation in that tone. We will go as far as any journalist in favor of a "high moral tone." In fact, there is hardly an evil but might be abolished, or at least greatly lessened by a sufficient elevation of "moral tone." How to secure this elevation is the great question, and one which is yet to be more seriously considered, but in the mean time, before we get the "tone" that will bring all things right, will it not be best to refrain from throwing open our treasures, where the too easily tempted may fill their capacious pockets to overflowing, without let or hindrance. The trouble at our National and State Capitols, has been, that the full treasuries have been thrown open to whoever might help themselves. No wonder the light fingered gents have been the first to be on hand. Are they so greatly to blame, who are predisposed in that direction, and who have such facilities offered them for gratifying the ruling propensity, or is the **SYSTEM DEFECTIVE**. We say the latter. How can we consistently pray "lead us not into temptation," and then consent to throwing such temptations in the way of our weaker brothers? Does any one doubt that a remedy can be found? Why is it that Government suffers so much more from the fraud and thievery of its servants, than private business men do from theirs? The trouble is in having these treasures at all—that is such treasures. There is, to speak safely, five times as much stolen and otherwise worse than thrown away every year, (leaving out the war expenses) as would be sufficient to carry on a true, simple, and efficient Government. It is folly to talk of the corruption of this or that man, or of this or that party; and it will amount to but little to curtail expenses here or there; but all unnecessary departments of Government, including most of the offices, and all the salaries and patronage, must be **ABOLISHED**. This can not be done just now, it is true, or in a moment, but if something like it is not done in a hurry, after a while, there is one prophet who does not understand the tendencies of the times and the people.

Pay in Advance.

It will be entirely useless for any person to ask us to "send a few numbers," promising to subscribe if they like. We shall send no more than a specimen number without pay. We will send the paper for any length of time, for two cents a number, and this is the fullest extent of our liberality.

To Contributors.

We have an abundance of choice contributions, though a great proportion of them have come to hand too late for this number. We have therefore concluded to treat all alike, and save contributions for the next number, in which they will take precedence, almost perhaps to the exclusion of editorial. It is perhaps well to define our position pretty thoroughly at the outset, otherwise we should feel that we had overstepped the bounds of modesty in taking up so much room. The second number will circulate quite as largely as the first, and contributors will lose nothing by the delay. Among other able productions, we shall commence in the next number a series of very able articles from the pen of Prof. W. Byrd Powell. Our readers may expect a rare intellectual treat. We are especially thankful to contributors for their favors, and trust they will be even more generous in future.

Pay for Specimens.

Two or three cents is a small sum, but several thousand times that number is a great deal for an editor. We shall distribute in the course of the year, to speak safely, ten thousand extra copies. The postage on every such copy has to be pre-paid. The actual cost of pre-paid copies of the N. R. will be no less than thirty dollars a thousand. Many a comfortable meal would this buy for the poor editor, to say nothing of frocks for the baby. It always makes us happy to get letters with those little pictures in them. It is true that it is for our interest to have our Journal circulate, we shall be likely to get subscribers by the means; so it is for "Uncle Samuel's" interest to have papers circulate, but he won't send them without his penny. He could better afford to; he is without doubt the richest man of the two, though it is uncertain how long he will be, if the war continues, and we get as many subscribers for the N. R. as we hope to. But to show that we are not small, we will send specimens for three or one cents each, or for nothing.

Once for All.

If we should not occupy our space in succeeding numbers in making appeals to our readers to aid us by procuring subscribers, it may be inferred that we are always in need of, and inexpressibly grateful for, such aid. It is not possible that, with any number of subscribers, our enterprise can be a speculation. Our friends need have no fear that we shall live so well on the profits of our Journal that our mentality and consequent ability to write good editorials, will be lessened. We shall expect at best to work hard, live poor, and get little pay. And if the need is that we should give a year of ceaseless toil without any pecuniary compensation, we are ready without a second thought. We expect by the help of God, a hopeful heart, ready hands and a determined will, and your co-operation, to succeed. To this end may you, with us, ever pray and work.

"The Crime of the Ages."

BY AUGUSTA COOPER KIMBALL.

Poet, write!

Not of a purpose dark and dire,
That souls of evil fashion,
Nor the power that nerves the assassin's hand
In the white heat of his passion;
But let thy rhyme,
Through every clime,
A burthen bear of this one crime;
Let the shuddering world draw in its breath,
O'er the crime that aims at a NATION'S DEATH!

Minstrel, sing!

Not in affection's dulcet tone,
Or the sound of a soft recorder;
Strike not thy harp to a strain arranged
In measured, harmonic order;
But loud and strong
The notes prolong,
That thunder of a Nation's wrong;
Let a sound of war in thy notes appear,
Till the world opes wide a startled ear.

Prophet, speak!

Speak for the children of martyred sires,
An offspring the most ungrateful;
Is swift-winged Justice hurrying on
To punish a deed so hateful?
Oh, read with thy
Prophetic eye,
The omens of our troubled sky;
What is the picture beyond the gloom?
New life, new birth, or a Nation's tomb?

Soldier, fight!

Thou hast a patriot's throbbing pulse,
And future history's pages,
Shall tell of the blood so freely shed
To redeem "the crime of the ages."
Well may'st thou fight
For truth and right,
And teach a rebel see thy might;
Let a loyal heart, and undaunted will
Show the world we are a Nation still!

Now is the Time.

It is highly desirable that as many as possible who want the NEW REPUBLIC, and who are going to work for it, should embrace the earliest opportunity. There will be an interesting and important connection between the first few and succeeding numbers of the paper, and let as many as possible have it from the first. Those who are uncertain whether they will want it, or are doubtful as to its continuance, or have not a dollar to spare, send half a dollar, or twenty-five cents, or a few stamps; but send at once, if you want the paper at all, and decide what you can or wish to do further, afterwards.

Outcast Women.

It seems, too, that more can be done for this species of crime by prevention than cure. It is one of those moral cancerous disorders which corrupt the entire system, and for which a remedy can rarely be found. Had half the efforts been spent on preserving young women from the temptations of poverty, on providing them with lucrative and honorable employment, on securing to them means for culture and social enjoyment, which have been expended in fruitless endeavors to rescue them from the evils into which desperation has plunged them, the record to-day would have been a far different one. There is little use in providing homes and asylums of any kind for dishonored outcasts, so long as society considers labor on the part of women a degradation.

We would not be understood as placing an obstacle in the way of any undertaking, which has for its object the physical and moral improvement of any portion of humanity, much less a class of women whose guilt always brings immeasurable suffering. But we see little use in striking off here and there a few leaves from this deadly upas tree, while its great broad roots flourish deep down in the earth, and supply the nourishment that keeps alive its withering, blighting power.—*N. Y. Sunday Times.*

Here is presented one of the most painfully interesting and deeply momentous questions that can claim the attention of the philanthropic moralist. What a system of society have we that Woman, pure, modest, womanly; chaste in her unperverted nature as the shining stars, should be compelled for any cause, to sell herself for the "wages of sin," to secure, perhaps, the necessary means to prolong a wretched existence! What proportion, may we ask, of the spirit of the viewers of the picture society presents, is one of pharisaical heartlessness, and cold, contemptuous indifference; and what proportion an earnest, sympathetic prayer for the solution of the problem by which society shall be purified of this withering enormity, and the victims of a fate more terrible than death, be reinstated in their native position of womanly virtue and happiness.

The *Banner of Light*, from whose columns we clip the above extract, justly remarks: "We must begin at the root to carry out a true work of reformation. While poor sewing girls are compelled to work from early morning to late at night, in order to earn from twelve to thirty cents a day—as we know there are thousands doing in our city—who shall be surprised that they choose the pathway of an easier life, as it seems to them, though a shorter one? Where is the premium on female virtue, when employers can use it to keep their operatives down at almost starvation prices?"

Here is the solution of the whole question. We hear of "woman's frailty." But Woman is "more

sinned against than sinning." Self preservation is the first great law of Nature. It is nonsense—nay devilishness, to take from Woman the means and the opportunities of an independent existence, and then talk of "virtue," and "sin." It is not individuals who are so much to blame, though no really virtuous man—for genuine virtue is inseparable from true appreciation of Woman and her rights—will consent to Woman's occupying a degraded pecuniary position, but the great wrong is in the system of Society which shuts out Woman from the principal avenues to pecuniary independence. Let Woman do what she is qualified to do in all the departments of life,—let her fit herself for honorable and independent usefulness, and let her be welcomed into every sphere of activity where she shall exhibit the needed qualifications, and there will be no more "Outcast Women."

The Agricultural Bill.

There has been a bill or proposition before Congress, or at least the Agricultural Committee, (we confess to not having kept track of it,) with the avowed object of looking after the interests of Agriculture. The bill "provides for the establishment of a department of Agriculture, the general design and duties of which shall be to acquire and to diffuse among the people of the United States, useful information on subjects connected with agriculture in the most general and comprehensive sense of that word, and to procure, propagate, and distribute amongst the people new and valuable seeds and plants."

The *New York World* in commenting upon this Bill endorses the measure but objects that it does not go far enough. It says,

"What we need is a well established natural system, with state and district auxiliaries, for collecting, digesting, and opportunely and frequently publishing, the statistics, not merely of agriculture, but of commerce, manufactures, education, population, wealth, taxation, &c."

Now we have great respect for the *New York World*, and the Agricultural Committee, but we shall be unable to give this measure our sanction. If there is any one thing we are especially interested in, next to publishing a political reform paper, it is agriculture. And on account of this especial interest in it, we would keep it, as far as possible, out of the hands of government officials. Government is good in its place; and anything is bad out of its place. The reason that government, practically, is so much of a humbug, is because it is forever meddling with what does not concern it. We stand on the old Jeffersonian Platform, and go for confining government to its legitimate sphere of protection. It has nothing to do with farming; more than to see that the farmer with all the rest, is protected in the enjoyment of his natural rights,

But it is proposed that government go to propagating and distributing seeds and plants. How extensively? While they are about it let there be enough raised so that all can have a share. No partiality. But the *World* would have the government go extensively into the publishing business. Well, why not? Why not have government do everything?—raise all the produce and carry it to market; go into manufacturing and commerce, and attend to things generally? We see no stopping place, if government is to take the people's affairs in hand at all. Our own humble opinion, freely expressed, is that government has enough on hand just now without going into farming, or the publishing business; and furthermore that when government shall have shown itself as competent to attend to its own affairs as the people have shown themselves to be to attend to theirs, it will do better than it has done of late.

Make Way for Liberty.

"As the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight," should now be heard that of every benefactor of his race, uttering in courageous tones, the inspiring battle-cry—"Make way for Liberty!" We are passing through the throes and upheavings of a transition Age, wherein the earth quakes for Liberty, and universal Humanity cries out for Justice.

Painful as is the transition—the grand working out of results, shall more than compensate, for all we shall have suffered and endured.

No nation now exists, nor ever has, I believe, whose governmental power has not been arrayed on the side of the oppressor, and *against* the oppressed—their professions to the contrary notwithstanding.

How is it at this moment with our own Government, and how has it been hitherto? How far has it sought to protect the weak and defenceless? Has it listened to the cry of the widow and the fatherless? Has it taken cognizance of the bitter tears wept by the thousands of sorrowing females whose only avenue from poverty and starvation, was through a surrender of virtue and innocence? Has it even *recognized* Woman, as inheriting from the Everlasting Father, the same rights "to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness", as those which man claims for himself? Has it taken in hand, the protection, encouragement, or education of the tens of thousands of God's children who have been born in poverty, and doomed to life-long toil, amidst privations, and sorrow and agonies, which only ended with death?

None of these has this government, as such, ever attempted, or contemplated. Aye! and there, too, comes up the wail of oppressed millions from the

sunny South-land. What has been the protection which this government has given to these? "*The protection which the wolf gives to the lamb!*" Alas! the slave may wear his chains forever—the widow may weep in loneliness and desolation—the orphan may spend his life in a ceaseless battle for bread—the youthful maiden—beautiful as the day, may starve, or sell herself for bread; and thus, thousands upon thousands—who are dear in the sight of God and his angels, as any of the lordly ones who spend their lives in 'riotous living,' and who with a little timely assistance, and a word of cheer, might have become noble and useful men and women, are cast upon the cormorant world, houseless, homeless, landless, friendless, and unprovided for, and unprotected, by a government which is so loud in its professions, and claims to "secure liberty and establish Justice", throughout all its dominions.

Does any government which loses sight of everlasting *Justice*, contain the elements of perpetuity? Why is it that we have now the shock of armies, and the deep convulsions that shake the nations? Simply that *Justice* and *Equity* have been practically ignored. All past history records the downfall of nations and empires that have been founded in selfishness and injustice—so shall all future history, for there is no permanency, or enduring life in aught that is not in harmony with God's government, which has *Justice* for its everlasting foundations. When a human government shall be founded, having for its 'corner stone,' this Principle—practically carried out—then may we be assured that such shall become "the Queen of nations," shed abroad Light to all others on the earth, and upon which our "Im-paradised forefathers," standing on the high places of Immortality, shall look down with rapture, and behold the children of their love, emulating the holiness of angels, and the beauty and harmony of Heaven!

M. A. T.

Greater Variety.

We offer this number as a specimen only of the sentiments we expect to advocate. Future numbers will contain as great a proportion of news as is appropriate to a literary weekly, valuable correspondence, &c. We have as yet no exchange list, and have not had time to keep track of the *World*. We shall have "an eye out" in the future, as to its doings, and, with the help of our contributors hope to make a "live paper."

Thanks

We are under especial obligations to those journals that have kindly noticed us in advance. And those friends who have given us their earnest prayers, and trustingly sent us their dollar, are sacredly enshrined in our grateful memory. May they persevere in well-doing, and may their days and their numbers be multiplied.

The New Republic.

To the believer in human progress there is no question as to ultimate results. Forms, organizations and conditions are uncertain and changeable; but, whether in the history of nations or individuals, the goal of Destiny is somewhere, somehow, and some-when, sure to be reached. Agitation, disintegration, change, more or less remarkable, mark all history. But from the pain, disorder and unrest spring new views, new attainments, new creations, and the greater worth of the new more than compensates for the cost of throwing off the old.

And so shall it be with this Nation. The old "Union" is already hopelessly dissolved. The Government, as at present organized, may be near its end. The majority of our people may pass off the stage before the problem of our destiny be settled; but so sure as the eternal Laws are omnipotent, so sure shall order, and peace, and justice, and freedom evolve out of these clouds and this chaos. And this knowledge shall give us that strength, that firm, calm patience, that enlightened and determined heroism, that resolute faith to endure and do, which the terror of the times will render so essential.

I take it for granted that the "Union" can never be reconstructed on its old basis. The slaveholding States, as such, will never again be in political fellowship with the North. The same government may be over both Northern and Southern territory, and the people North and South may be equally its loyal supporters; but slavery, as a power, can never again have a peaceful existence in this Nation. The Union, as a compact between slaveholding and non-slaveholding States, is inevitably and forever at an end. This, I think is so obvious and will be so generally admitted, as to render discussion on this point unnecessary. But the Government is composed of a union of States. And no provision whatever is made for the separation of these States; not even for the withdrawal or disposal of a single one of them. The Government is composed of ALL THE STATES, and the union of all the States must be maintained, or the Government is at an end. And the Government is not only a union of all the States, but it is a union of slaveholding and non-slaveholding States. And there is no provision for the abolition of slavery in the States, except by the States themselves. I readily admit that the Government, as a military power and in the exercise of its prerogative as a maintainer of its own authority, and in its legitimate work of enforcing the laws, may liberate as many slaves as it pleases, just as it may capture as many horses or as much of any other property as it pleases and

can, but this would constitute no legal and valid abolition of slavery as an institution. In the exercise of its military power, and as a military necessity, it might take so many slaves as to practically destroy the system, just as its armies might take or destroy so much property, or render it valueless by blockade or otherwise, as to impoverish the country, and yet slavery would be no more abolished, as a legal institution, than the right to property in horses, or arms, or provisions would be abolished. The Government has no more to do with slavery than it has with property. It can interfere with one only as it can with the other.

The relation of the slaveholding States then, to the Government and the non-slaveholding States remains the same, and must continue to remain the same except they voluntarily abolish slavery, or there is a reconstruction of the Government. But it will be admitted to be a moral impossibility that the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States, as such, should ever again be united in political fellowship. The fact in the matter is simply this: IN FORM the Union remains the same, and must remain the same, slave-rendition, slave-representation and all, until the slave States voluntarily become free, or the Government is re-modeled; while the SPIRIT of the union has hopelessly departed. The Union is dead; the body remains, but the SOUL has gone.

I see no escape from this view except in the Gerrit Smith interpretation of the Constitution. He claims that Slavery exists by the authority of no constitutional law, but in defiance of law and in violation of the Constitution, and that it is the province and duty of the Government to declare it an outlaw, and suppress and punish it as any other lawless crime. I will not discuss this point here. I do not deny the correctness of this view. It may be abstractly correct, but it has never been practically accepted and applied. The *Constitution*, according to strict rules of interpretation, may be anti-slavery, but the *Union* has been nothing else, practically, than a union of slaveholding and non-slaveholding States. There never has been any other union; and the blotting out of the slaveholding States, as such, involves a reorganization of the Government. The practical question is, will they be blotted out? I think they will. I see no end to this contest short of the utter annihilation of the South,—the slaveholding South,—as a political power. Such is the Southern character, such the deep, bitter hatred and contempt of the North, and such the arrogance, conceit and malignity of the rebel Slaveholders, that they will never submit to Yankee dominion. Their madness and fool-hardiness will have no cure short of destruction. And

I know of no better use to which the slaveholding power in this nation can be put. It has richly earned its fate. And while the forbearance of the North might save it, its own incurable madness will ensure the desirable result. Its last and only praiseworthy act is that of suicide.

And never has this Government really occupied the position of protector of the people's rights and liberties, till since it has brought its power to bear against the destroying curse of slavery. Willingly or otherwise, the Government is forced to the issue. And whatever may have been its failures and defects, it seems to me that every lover of justice and human freedom is bound to sustain the Government, with hand, and voice, and purse, and prayer, in this grand struggle. The cost may be terrible, but the result cannot be uncertain. Slavery must die. The day of its death will be the gladdest our Earth has seen. Who hears its death-groan may know that the great question of human freedom is no longer an uncertain problem. Slavery dead and our Nation will arise from its base bowing at its unholy shrine, will recover from the terrible draft upon its character, and credit, and purse, and life, and will begin its great work for human advancement and the triumph of Freedom throughout the Earth.

It seems to me that there is now no more profitable channel into which the minds of the thoughtful can be directed, than an investigation and discussion of the principles the Government of the coming time should embody and carry out. Whatever may be the result of the present contest, if that can be a matter of doubt, nothing is surer than that a government which receives the support of freemen, must, to a greater extent than ours has as yet done, embody and exemplify the great ideas of justice, freedom, economy and purity. Whatever reconstruction may or may not be the immediate consequence of the present death-struggle of Slavery, sooner or later, if human progress is not an illusion, the plan of Government must be so changed, as not only to wholly ignore Slavery, with its three-fifths representation, and its demand for the rendition of slaves, but so as to secure the rights of all, without regard to birth or complexion, age, belief or sex. And whenever this desired result, this victory of humanity, is likely to be secured, no success in instilling into the minds of the people correct ideas of government, can be otherwise than important. It will be something, when the time for action arrives, whether or not these principles are clearly defined in the minds, and cordially cherished in the hearts of the people. I know that gigantic work has already been done, and corresponding results attained, in the way of educating the masses on all the great questions of reform and

progress, and the various interests of Society in its relations to the Individual. And all appreciation is due the host of earnest reformers and brave thinkers who have accomplished so much. But what has been attained is only a surety that the future will bring the complete success.

The great folly of Humanity has been in awarding to certain privileged classes the right to monopolize certain fields of inquiry and action. To the priest has been awarded the domain of religion, and the people have been duped and priest-ridden for their pay. To the doctor they have given up the field of physiological research, and their blood has been poisoned and their pockets drained in consequence. They have allowed the lawyer to both make and interpret the law, and he has had everything his own way, never forgetting the lion's share of the pickings. The politicians have had full swing in the management of governmental affairs, and we have had a corrupt, unjust, and ruinously expensive government as the result. The motto of humanity, if humanity would be saved, must be, "*No priests, no doctors, no lawyers, no politicians.*" Not that there may not be those who shall excel in either of these departments, and use their knowledge for humanity's advancement, but they shall be considered impertinent if they seek to monopolize any field of legitimate inquiry or honest action.

The government of the future: Who shall inaugurate it? What shall be its character? On what principles shall it be constructed? How shall it be administered? It may be safely laid down as an axiom that the popular doctors of any system will never inaugurate a new system. The popular divinity doctors will never introduce a new system of religion; they are wedded to the old. The old school doctors of medicine are not the men to introduce a new system of medicine. And the political doctors will never introduce a new system of politics. If, and whenever a change is effected in our system of government, the prime movers, in the main, at least, will be men who have not floated on the tide of popular politics, and fed at the public crib under the old system.

Whenever important movements are to be made; whenever a great work is to be done, the men whose province it is to do that work, appear. When the progress of events demand a revolution, the men for the hour are never wanting. And whatever may be the true theory of providences, the men for the hour seem designed and fitted for their special work. And one essential condition of fitness seems to be that the mind shall not be wedded to the old ways, or preoccupied with activities in the old order. Jesus was not a Jewish high

priest. Martin Luther was not a cardinal. Columbus did not move in the higher walks of life. Napoleon was not a petted child of royalty. Washington and Garibaldi were ready to answer the call of Destiny for a like reason. "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon." The rich man cannot enter heaven because his mind is occupied to the exclusion of the worthy and the exalted. The saving ideas of the future are not to be brought to light by such as are wedded to the forms and institutions of the past.

Men of power, ability, talent, may be divided into two classes. First, those who are apt in elucidating and applying the ideas and methods already accepted and sanctioned; the lawyers, the doctors of divinity, the popular politicians, and in business, the men who are quick-sighted, shrewd, and ready to avail themselves of all ways to accomplish ends, which other men have practiced before them. Of this class there are enough; and well enough they are in their way. But they never introduce new ideas or new systems. They are smart and practical, but they have neither depth or genius. But for "unpractical, idealizing fanaticism," they would have been carrying their grists to mill with a stone in one end of the bag, to this day, and would have, in doing it, won a reputation for smartness and practical talent. The other class is composed of men who have the ability to comprehend, and the courage to grapple with first principles. Men who study the nature of things; and who believe in things because of their adaptation to desired ends, rather than because they have been sanctified by the usages of the past. It is this class of minds, and not the surface politicians, who must work out the problem of our political destiny. And it behooves them, wherever they are in private life, to be about their work. And the most important work of the wise legislator and political economist, is to educate the masses in the science of true Government. And it will not be wise to wait until the moment comes for the practical reconstruction. It is only by agitation, or an extraordinary change in conditions, that the masses are ever prepared for change. If we wait till the mass of the people demand a new order of things, or till the exigencies of the case make a change imperative, we shall have the satisfaction of witnessing the fatal mistake of selecting the old politicians as framers of the new system; who will, from the necessity of their character and modes of thought, institute a system essentially like the old, which of necessity would soon have to be remodeled in obedience to the new demands of the times.

I propose that the basis principles of Government be thoroughly examined and discussed, and

a model plan of Government developed. And while I would not detract one iota of strength, or interest, or effort, from the awful struggle in which we are immediately engaged, I would, by thorough and wise agitation, rally around the new idea the whole radical element of the country. This would constitute a regular force to which the mass would be very likely to attach itself in its approaching great need. For unless the signs of the times are deceptive, the present organization is competent to do only a part of the mighty work of extricating this Nation from the horrors into which corruption and madness have plunged it. I sincerely pray that the present Administration may have the power and the wisdom, not only to crush out this lawless and murderous rebellion, but to utterly annihilate the slave-holding power that is carrying it on. There can be no true peace or prosperity in this Nation so long as that power remains. But that glorious end consummated, so outraged will the people be in view of the terrible cost and destruction, traceable so directly to corruption, and profligacy, and mal-administration in Government, that they will demand a system which in its simplicity and economy, and recognition and appreciation of the principles of Justice and Human Rights, will be in strong contrast with the injustice, extravagance and corruption of the old.

But should events prove otherwise—should the "Ship of State" outride this terrible storm in safety, and should there be no immediate apparent need of any reconstruction, yet Progression will demand a new system ere long. And whether the change in our Government be the result of special causes, or in obedience to the law of gradual progress, there is the same need that the true principles of Government be understood, and as soon and as far as possible applied. Whether any radical change is likely to be effected within five years, or not in fifty, it need not concern us greatly to inquire. True principles are ever the same, and be it ever ours to labor for their acceptance and application.

It may, perhaps, be well first to inquire whether we have any work to do in this direction; and what the qualifications for fitness are. The grand secret of power, success, is the ability to get into rapport with Destiny. To throw ourselves onto the wave of events that shall carry us and our work on to its goal. Intellect is powerless in opposition to the laws of things. The smartest man the world has produced, is powerless when acting in opposition to Fate. "*I will as Destiny wills,*" is the motto of the supremest Wisdom. It matters not so much whether we have wisdom and greatness, as the world counts wisdom and great

ness; but have we that spiritual insight that enables us to discern the signs of the Times? Are our ears quickened that we hear the beating of the great heart of the Universe; enabling us to determine in what direction its currents of life and action flow? Whatever may be true of us, it is evidently true that these qualities are not possessed by the world's superficially great. It is alike a fact of history, and a necessity in the nature of things, that great and original movements have their origin with the comparatively obscure.

The basis idea of Government is the *protection of Human Rights*. All rights are natural and inalienable. Individual Sovereignty is the basis of all Sovereignty. A true Government is but a combination of individuals for the better protection of their inherent rights. These principles were clearly laid down by Jefferson and his compeers, but they have been sadly, totally departed from by the modern administrators of Government.

Government as in the past organized and administered, has made it its prerogative to enforce the popular religion and popular morality of its age. This is all wrong. Government has nothing to do, properly, with morals or religion. Jefferson's doctrine was this: all men have certain natural and inalienable rights; and to defend these Governments are instituted. This and this only is their legitimate business. However truthful and important certain moral and religious ideas may be, it is no part of the duty of Government to enforce them. And however pernicious and repulsive certain immoral and irreligious doctrines and practices may be, it is no part of the duty of Government to suppress them; unless it is made to appear that they involve an outrage upon rights. If so, they should be suppressed, just so far and no farther, as they are an infringement on rights. Moral influences alone must be relied upon to counteract immorality and irreligion.

There are numerous laws on our statute books, based on certain religious and moral ideas. The question is not whether these ideas are correct, but whether Government is not out of its sphere in attempting to enforce them. There is a law enforcing the observance of the first day of the week. But the Jews, the Seventh-day-Baptists, and the Infidels, however erroneous in opinion, have the same legal rights as other citizens; and were they in the majority, would be equally justifiable in enacting the observance of the seventh day, or prohibiting the observance of any day. Minorities have the same rights as majorities, and neither have any right to enforce any religious ideas.

Profanity, as another illustration, is almost universally condemned, and yet the law against it is a

dead letter. It is not a legitimate law. Profanity comes within the province of the Divine, and not the Legislator.

Polygamy, is abhorrent to the moral sense of the civilized world. And yet Polygamy can and should never be suppressed by law.

The trouble in society is that people have not outgrown the old superstition that other people must be compelled to do right. This superstition has in the past run to all lengths. The time has been when even a man's prayers were under the surveillance of Government. How much less absurd is it to require a man to observe a particular day of the week, or to observe any purely moral or religious idea. The principle is of course the same. The ancient superstitions and wrongs are crumbling away, piece by piece, but what remains is essentially alike what has been swept away. People are never to be compelled to do right; except where the rights of others are involved. It is as impolitic as unjust. The more stringent the laws and restraints, the more does immorality, and excess, and crime abound. The arbitrary influences that have been made use of to suppress immorality, have only made matters worse. So the true Government that shall secure to all the right to live their own lives, so long as they do not infringe upon the rights of others, will prove to be not only the great protector of rights, but the great conservator of morals.

The employment of Chaplains, in Congress, in the Legislatures, and in the army, is an illustration of an unwarrantable imposition of religious doctrines upon the people. The pay of Chaplains in the army, at the present time, must amount, in the aggregate, to about half a million of dollars a year. And these Chaplains of course have some particular faith. What an outrage, that those who do not believe in punishment in a future state, should be taxed to pay men for consigning their sons, husbands, and brothers, who fall in their country's defense, to eternal perdition. And what less than this can these Chaplains do? They are something worse than hypocrites, if, believing as many of them do, that the unconverted soldier slain, goes to hell, they do not keep this terrible truth before the mind in every sermon and every prayer. But to have this doctrine imposed by government, upon those who have no faith in it, who are even disgusted with it; and for those to be taxed to pay the exorbitant bill, who abhor the doctrine, is, to say the least, decidedly cool, in professed disciples of Jefferson! Let it not be inferred that I do not believe that the future state of the wicked is one of misery; for I do believe it is, and their present state also; but I would not have Government take money from the common treasury to enforce even my religious opinions, correct as they doubtless are!

On the other hand, how utterly repugnant to the feelings of an Orthodox soldier, whose highest solicitude must be for the spiritual well-being of his fellow soldiers, and to feel that they were prepared for the dreadful change which awaits all, but which the brave man who faces the cannon's mouth, may be especially near ; to be required to listen regularly to the prayers and exhortations of one in his view fatally in error in regard to the soul's destiny ? The truly conscientious can no doubt freely listen to any expression of views, however different from his own ; but should we not be exceedingly careful, not to impose any views upon those to whom they are distasteful ? The true way in this matter doubtless is for prayers and exhortations to be voluntary, and if there are not praying soldiers competent, let Clergymen go into the ranks as common soldiers, or be elected or appointed officers, and do the praying gratuitously, or be paid by contributions.

It is a wise saying that the best Government is that which governs least. But it is a still truer saying that the best Government does nothing, after securing the rights of its subjects. The chief mission of a true Government will be, while it exerts a mighty moral power over the Nation, to simply occupy the place of what would otherwise be greatly mischievous. That is a very good doctor who does nothing, after inspiring confidence in the patient, but to keep away the horde of leechers, blisters, purgers, bleeders and poisoners, who, if allowed to take charge, would soon worry the life out of the patient. I would have Government extensively simplified. Government has altogether too much machinery. It costs altogether too much to run it and keep it oiled. The chief features of expense in Government, so far as direct taxes are concerned, are the State and County organizations. And these are entirely unnecessary. I would have only a general Government, simple in its powers, without executive patronage, and confined entirely to purposes of defense ; and such local organizations as the people in any locality, on the principle of Popular Sovereignty, and restrained only by the general and essential principles of the common Constitution, might choose to adopt. There is no business that the people need to have done, now done by the County organizations, that could not be better and cheaper done by the township organizations. What a monstrous sum is paid every year, by the people, to keep up these worthless organizations. How much of the money annually paid in taxes ever comes back to really benefit the people. Let every man make a calculation of the amount he pays in taxes in the course of ten years. Then let him take into account how much his neighbors pay. How much greater slaves and dupes are they who pay a tax to support a priesthood, than are these tax payers ? They will soon conclude that they have paid these taxes long enough. Then State and County organizations will go by the board, and another step toward freedom will have been taken.

Government is entirely out of its place in attempting to transact business which naturally belongs to the people. The Post Office, for instance, should be relinquished entirely, by Government. The Express companies could carry the mail to better advantage, and more satisfactorily, than the Government can do it. Private enterprise is always competent to do whatever needs to be done, and to the best advantage. Government always does business bunglingly and expensively. The fact that Government cannot carry the mail without making it a monopoly, and forbidding private enterprise from engaging in a legitimate business, robbing the people of a natural right, is proof enough that it is out of its sphere.

Government has nothing to do, properly, with schools ; no more than it has with churches. When all believed that the Priest ought to have one-tenth of all incomes, and were agreed in their religious views, it was appropriate that the Church should be supported by a tax. But when part dissented, it was no longer just. So of schools. Could all agree in their ideas of education, it would be just to sustain schools by taxation ; but people are coming to be as diversified in their ideas of education, as of religion. But were schools sustained by law, there would, for that reason, be no need of State and County organizations ; and the money going from township to County, and from County to State, and from State back to County, and from County back to township, and from township to district, through the hands of a countless horde of officials, a good share of it sticking to the fingers of each. If this is not humbug in Government, and rather expensive humbug, too, it would be difficult to tell what is. The nearer home business is transacted, so it is done as well, the better. And is not the school fund expended, after all, by the men in your district, and in accordance with their judgment ? People must like to pay money to support officials, to say nothing of thieves ! Did the people transact their own business, there would be an end of defaulters running away with millions of their money.

The whole question of Internal Improvements should be left entirely in the hands of the people. If, for instance, the Lake navigation needs improving, the matter properly belongs to the Lake navigators. They alone are directly interested, and none understand their wants, and how to supply them, so well as they. Let these navigators, on the principle of Popular Sovereignty, get together and organize, what might be to all intents and purposes, a Government, for that specific purpose ; and let the cost of improvements be paid by tax, in proportion to tonnage and use. They should be governed by the principles of justice and right as laid down in the Constitution of the General Government, but the General Government should have nothing to do with the affairs of these navigators, farther than to insure justice between them, in case of any serious violation of it. None could tell so well as these

navigators what works were necessary, and what would pay. The cost would eventually come out of the payrons of Lake navigation, and just in proportion to their patronage, or, in other words, just in proportion to the advantages they derived from the improvements. Here would be a system emphatically economical and just. There would be no justice in making appropriations out of the general Treasury, for specific improvements; for the pecuniary interests of certain classes (as the Railroad interest and Canal interest, in the State of New York, or the Railroad and Lake interest) are antagonistic to those of other classes. There would be no justice or reason in taxing the Railroad interest to maintain the Lake interest, or the Canal interest. Let these interests take care of themselves. All the people want, is to be let alone; they are perfectly competent to manage their own affairs. It is true political economy to leave the Laws of Trade to determine what amount of money may profitably be expended in any given direction; and this can be determined by none so well as by the parties most interested.

Few things are so much needed as a uniform system of currency. Here is one of the great disadvantages of State Governments. The General Government should insure a uniform as well as just and safe system; and great inconvenience and loss to the people would be avoided. I would have no chartered monopolies; but any individual or number of individuals should have the privilege of putting their notes into circulation under such arrangements and restrictions as would be a perfect insurance to the bill-holders against loss. Our present banking system is an illustration of what a miserable affair our Government is, and how much better facilities are afforded to rogues and speculators than to honest men, and to fraud and monopoly than to legitimate business.

The General Government should establish a uniform and humane system of Prison Discipline. Our treatment of criminals partakes, as yet, a good deal of the barbarous. I would have the death-penalty and corporeal punishment entirely abolished. And there should be no punishment of any sort not absolutely necessary for the safety of society, and calculated to improve the character of the criminal. Were it necessary ever to take a man's life, in the way of punishment, which I do not admit, he should be either shot or drowned, or killed in some easy and respectable way. It is surely bad enough to kill a helpless wretch, after you have him in your power, without cruelizing him, and sending him into the other world disgraced. Criminals should be considered diseased or insane, and treated accordingly; and our prisons should be asylums, rather than places of torture.

Laws relating to marriage and divorce should, evidently, be uniform. And here we see again that State Governments are a nuisance. What justice or reason is there in making certain require-

ments in one State that are not made in another; or in extending certain privileges in one State that are denied in another? The real justice of the thing is evidently the same in one State as in another, and why should not requirements and privileges be uniform?

While Government should not interfere with marriage or love relations, farther than to insure the rights of all parties and of society, and should recognize married parties only as individuals, as equal partners, it should nevertheless be sure that woman is recognized as man's equal, socially and politically. There will never be just and equitable laws till woman, equally with man, has a voice in framing and administering them. Of all the rights of which woman has been robbed, and without which all talk of other rights is but mockery and nonsense, is the **RIGHT TO HERSELF**, to her own soul and body. The legislator, worthy the name, will see to it that woman is recognized as having the supreme control of her own person, her own property and earnings, and so far as parentive authority extends, the control and ownership of her own children. While it naturally devolves upon the father mainly to provide for children, not because he is supposed to have more property, because when woman has her rights, he may not have, but because the greater care naturally devolves upon the mother, he should, against the mother, claim no authority, and exercise no control over them whatever. The justice of this is apparent. A woman whom a man cannot trust with the guardianship of his children, should not be selected for their mother! It is true that man and woman should act in concert and harmoniously in all things, especially in all things pertaining to love and parentage and the nurture and education of children, but in those unhappy cases where there are differences, woman's right must be held supreme.

One of the most serious defects in our Government, is the radically imperfect character of its representative system. In fact it is not really representation. And to-day the Government is more in the hands of wire-workers and caucus managers, than in the hands of the people. I would have the people at liberty to vote for Representatives without regard to locality; each voter giving his suffrage to the man who, of all the Nation, could best represent him; and in the Congress every member should cast as many votes as he had received suffrages. Thus the whole popular vote would be cast (by proxy) on every question or measure that came before the Congress; and cast, too, as the people would have them cast: as every voter would be represented by the man of his choice, of corresponding ideas and principles. Further than this every voter should have the privilege of instructing his Representative how to vote on any particular measure; thus the Representative would cast the votes of all those who did not instruct otherwise, as he chose (which would be supposed to correspond

to their wishes) and the votes of those who did instruct, according to the instructions. In other words, he should divide his vote according to the views of his constituents. It would be only on important questions, and where the views of the Representative and the voter differed, that there would be any occasion for instructions. Chosen in the manner I suggest, the Representative and the voter would not often differ. Thus the people would have a direct voice on every question of legislation before the country.

I would not have Representatives elected for any specified term, but would give the people at every regular local election an opportunity of changing their votes, if they choose, from the individual to whom they had been previously given, and bestowing them upon some other individual. Thus each member would continue to represent, and cast the votes of, as many as preferred him. Thus no member could continue to mis-represent his constituents long after he had ceased to be their choice; and the people would have full control over their Representatives.

An objection has been made to this plan, that too many would be voted for, and the Congress would be inconveniently large. I think this would not be the case. The tendency would be to vote only for first class men. A few of the ablest and best men, so considered, would get nearly all the votes. For instance such a man as Stephen A. Douglass, would get nearly all the votes of his party, and the second rate Douglass politicians would get no votes at all. So, to a greater or less extent, of other able men; a few of them would get most of the votes. I would have all the expenses of the sessions, divided equally among the members. Not only that, but I would have the members look to their constituents for their salaries; and no member could afford to retain his seat without a respectable constituency. No man would accept a seat on those conditions, to cast a mere handful of votes. Those few who had voted for such persons should have the privilege of changing their votes, and an arrangement should be made for that purpose, and a record of all votes kept.

Essentially such an arrangement as this seems the only way to secure a true representation. Under the present system, instead of voting for the man of his choice, the voter must give his suffrage to some man in his own district; though there might be a score out of his district that he would prefer; and some out of it that he would greatly prefer. Then again he cannot vote for the man of his choice even in his district; but must vote for the man whom the party caucus, controlled by the wire-workers, may please to select. This he is bound to do, or vote for the opposing candidate, or refuse to vote; while there might be a hundred men, even in his district, that he would prefer to the caucus candidate. We can never have true representation till this is all changed. Then there is the defeated par-

ty (and sometimes two minority parties, making a majority of the whole) who are not represented at all, even in this poor way; whereas, on the plan proposed, every voter in the Nation would be represented by the man of his choice, and hold that man as a Representative, directly in his power.

But even to this extent in the hands of the people, I would never give them the privilege of putting their fingers into the Treasury. There is one line of the "Lord's prayer" that may be very appropriately addressed to the people, when offered by members of Congress: "LEAD US NOT INTO TEMPTATION." Congress should have no power to make any appropriations whatever, out of the general Treasury, except for purposes of defense. The salaries of the members should be paid by free contributions from their constituents.

Congress should have power to levy direct taxes (and no other for any purpose) for purposes of defense, and for defense only. Let Government be confined to its legitimate business, and let necessary expenses be met by direct taxation or by contributions. Tariffs, besides being an infringement of man's natural right to freedom in trade, and stimulative of an unnatural and unprofitable industrial policy, and unjust and burdensome to the poor, are prolific causes of Governmental corruption.

Of course no just Government will permit a monopoly of the soil, or any other of the multiplied systems of iniquity that now degrade and crush Humanity.

We and I.

The best styles do not admit too free a use of the personal pronouns of the first person. But evidently both the singular and plural of the first person have their use. It can be no more improper or immodest to say I, when I is meant, than to say We, when every body knows the writer means I. So "we" fail to gain on the score of modesty, what "we" lose, on the score of appropriateness. The Editor of this Journal claims to be only one man, as good as any other man, and no better; and while he claims the right to speak for himself, and himself only, he does not confess to any special, conscious immodesty or egotism in claiming and exercising this right. The writer of this has, in his day, chopped cord-wood and hoed potatoes, and it never occurred to him to say "We have chopped the wood," or "We have hoed the potatoes," where he had done the work alone. Chopping wood or hoeing potatoes, is perhaps, as manly an avocation as writing editorials, and the work is quite as apt to be creditably done. When, therefore, the pronoun "we" occurs in the editorials of this paper, it may be inferred that the writer means himself and such others as may be more or less interested, and agreed with him.